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POSSIBLE NEW APPROACHES TO PROBLEM OF BERLIN

A. Approaches to Reinforce Our Position

1. Appeal to Security Council

The Security Council has been seized of the Berlin problem since 1948. A renewed appeal to the Council would be useful to exhaust our peaceful remedies before resorting to force. If the Soviets did not veto, they could be expected to try to make the United Nations take cognizance of the existence of the GDR.

2. Adjudication by International Court of Justice

Another peaceful remedy to be exhausted before resorting to force. The Soviets have never submitted to the jurisdiction of the Court before. If they did in this instance, our legal experts are satisfied we have the better case and would win. However, the possibility of an ambiguous or unenforceable decision cannot be excluded.

3. Reunification of Berlin

We might propose that Berlin be reunified under a government of its own choice. This would mean, in effect, the elimination of the East Berlin Magistrat and the carrying out of free elections in East Berlin. (The latest formulation of this idea is the suggestion that we might counter the Soviet "free city" proposal with a proposal for making all of Berlin genuinely free.) It would also be essential that the people of Berlin determine their own relationship with the other parts of Germany, which means, in effect, that the ties between the Federal Republic and Berlin would remain. Presumably this arrangement would require some new form of quadripartite co-operation in Berlin but certainly not a restoration of the quadripartite Allied Kommandatura with a Soviet veto.

B. Approaches Which Might Have Some Appeal to Soviets

4. Eliminating Anti-Communist Intelligence and Propaganda Activities in Berlin

Steps could be taken to reduce the function of Berlin as a "thorn in the Soviet flesh" by eliminating at least part of the intelligence and propaganda activities directed against the Soviet-controlled area from West Berlin.

5. Sealing Off West Berlin from Soviet Sector and Zone

Steps might be taken to facilitate the long-standing efforts of the Communists to seal off West Berlin from the surrounding territory.

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This would be the extreme step in eliminating the influence which emanates from Berlin to retard the communization of East Germany. It would considerably reduce the usefulness of Berlin to the West and would amount to an admission that reunification could not be expected in the foreseeable future. The effects on Berlin morale would be bad, but, if relatively unrestricted communication with West Germany could be maintained, the measure would involve no insuperable difficulties for West Berlin.

6. Incorporation of Berlin into the Federal Republic

Variants of this idea envisage that the Allied forces would remain under some form of contractual agreement, that the Allied forces would be replaced by the Bundeswehr and Berlin's security would become a NATO responsibility, and that Berlin would somehow be demilitarized. This proposal has been put forward more often with the idea of strengthening the Western position in Berlin by enlisting the complete support of the Federal Republic rather than finding an accommodation with the Soviets. If the Western Powers were to decide that they had to withdraw from Berlin before German reunification is achieved, the transfer of responsibility for the city to the Federal Republic might provide a way of doing so. The Federal Government is firmly against making Berlin a full-fledged state of the Federal Republic, but there is support for the idea within the Opposition.

7. United Nations Guarantee for Berlin

The proposal has been made, with a number of variants, that the occupation powers might relinquish their authority in Berlin to the United Nations, which would take over Berlin as a sort of trusteeship. Presumably the Allied forces would be replaced by UN forces. Suggestions of this sort invariably fail to mention how the United Nations would deal with the access problem and with GDR assertions of sovereignty. It seems obvious that the Soviets, if they consented to such an arrangement, would at the very least press for some form of United Nations recognition of the GDR. If the Western Powers decided that they had to withdraw from Berlin before German reunification is achieved, the transfer of their authority to the United Nations might provide a way of withdrawing. However, the Western Powers might find themselves in a position where they retained a measure of responsibility for the city but lost control of decisions regarding the city's affairs.

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